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184 in their individual independence, and speak their dialect loudly and with great energy. On the other hand, the people of the northern section are gentler and less aggressive and their speech is quieter and softer. I had supposed this difference to be due chiefly to the fact that the northern section had been subject to missionary and other foreign influence several generations longer than the southern, until I found that the evidence of some of the earliest visitors indicates the existence of this very difference at the time of the first European contact. Marchand's (22) remarks on this subject are illuminating. This voyager visited the Marquesas in 1790. Speaking of people of the island of Ua Pou, he says:

> They appeared less active, less intelligent than the natives of Santa Christina (Tahuata). Neither have they that belligerent air which evidences a proud and independent character. . . . In the glimpse that we had of them on shore one was much pleased with their peaceable and amicable conduct: different in this way from all the people of the Pacific Ocean, they did not show any inclination to steal; they did not even go so far as to make a request and seemed to forbid themselves even to desire.

Marchand speaks also of the good behavior and gentleness of the people of Nuku Hiva, with whom he came in contact (22, Vol. I, pp. 167-8). That the aggressiveness of the people of the southern section was not a result of the fact that they had been in previous contact with Europeans and had acquired this attitude towards them in soliciting coveted gifts, but rather that it was natural to them is proved by the fact that they exhibited it so markedly toward Mendana's expedition as early as 1595. (25, pp. 16-21.)

The question of differentiation within the group has been considered from the point of view of its being between the northern sections (Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka) and the southern sections (Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva). There is, however, evidence—linguistic, political and perhaps physical—which may indicate that Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva formed a section in which one type was dominant, while eastern Nuku Hiva belonged with the southern section. On the other hand, eastern Nuku Hiva may have constituted a third section by itself.

● 166 That there was not more differentiation in various parts of the Marquesas is due to several causes. In the first place there was active trade within the group, an exchange of articles of local manufacture. In the second place the political situation shows that tribes, compelled by defeat in war to forsake their own valleys, moved frequently from one part of an island to another and from one island to another. A third and less important circumstance contributing to exchange of articles and ideas is the fact that there was much travelling within the group for adventure and amusement as well as for trade.

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On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sections of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not confined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

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166 they were defeated in the war with all eastern Hiva Oa furnishes an example of a tribe taking refuge on another island.

There is every reason to believe that there was also peaceable penetration and settlement. This is probably what occurred in Taupo Tua (Taupo, a tribal name, *tua*, back), the section along the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. Investigation shows that this region was settled by the Taupo tribe, a powerful member of the Na-iki group in Vevau, who occupied the section of that great valley lying nearest Taupo Tua, so that they had easier access to the coast by land than could be had from any other part of the island.

Summary of Evidence

174 The conclusions that have been come to in the above discussion of the peopling of the Marquesas may be briefly summarized as follows: In the thought of the people themselves there is no conception of their forefathers having come to the islands—that is, of their having migrated. There is, however, in genealogies, legends, and chants, indirect evidence that indicates knowledge of lands to the westward in central Polynesia and proves conclusively that the early settlers of the Marquesas were a branch of the people who named the regions in which they lived, Vevau, Fiti, Tona, and so on. The distribution of these names as land names across central Polynesia seems to me to indicate that this was probably the route by which the early settlers of the Marquesas came to their islands. Comparative study of genealogies and traditions with regard to the occurrence of the names of the first settlers leads to the conclusion that the first colonists came about the tenth century; that from that time until the twelfth century was what has been called the early period of settlement; that the time from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries represented a period of later expansion. Evidence from modern informants, legends, sacred chants, and a number of indirect sources indicates that the region on the southern coast of Hiva Oa, including the valleys now called Taha Uku, Atu Ona, Te Hutu, and Ta'a Oa, was the favorable center in which the native culture was nurtured and the indistinctive traits which characterize it throughout the group were developed, and from which the people and their culture expanded. Lastly it was concluded that certain cultural variations in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, which are paralleled by slight physical and temperamental differences in the people of those islands, indicate the presence of another later immigrating group of Polynesian settlers who infused their blood and influences of their culture into the stock and the culture of the settlers already established throughout the group.